5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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[Title Page]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

# PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

## INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the old confidence in their powers. 756 782

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves. 756 787

*Unsought dreams.*—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin. [778]

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sickness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams. [753]

A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 756 755 787 778

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured. If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people, but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



*Inheritance of power.*—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account.

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to puf sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt him.

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well.

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to.

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



756 424 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

[715] [787] If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 787 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the parent is still alive.

Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[718] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 787 159 [718] The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this mountain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see through anything. That makes him lucky.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life.

*Interpreters.*—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

*Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snake-bite.

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise. "It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing, and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter, what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

*Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

*Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then the patient is all right.

*Payment of fees.*—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor.

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once.

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

*Specialists.*—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said, "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

*Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

*Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

*Invulnerability.*—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

*Clairvoyance.*—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

## WITCHCRAFT

Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets out to exterminate the common danger. 754 755 683

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the usual way. [766]

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property. 764 775

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 756 533 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reservation until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick. 756 754 648

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate with such women. 841 155

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it necessary to avoid his glance. 756

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 756 114 787

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f.* New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f.*; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f.*; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f.*

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Weather shamans and specialists have been described above for the Nevada Paviotso but they were unknown among the Owens Valley Paiute, while little specialization was recognized in Surprise valley.[13] 756

The Paviotso shaman's invulnerability against bullets and arrows was practised among the Owens Valley Paiute, as among the Nevada Paiute, to demonstrate the "doctor's" powers.[14] This practice may be connected with the Ghost dance movements. [789] [668]

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[13] Steward, 311; Kelly, 189.
[14] Steward, 310.